501 Their paddles have a handle like that of a spade, i.e., with a small piece of wood across the end. This is held in one hand while the other hand grasps the paddle near the blade which is two and one half [502] feet long. They paddle differently from the way we row, for they face the front, pushing the water behind to drive the pirogue ahead. They sometimes go 200 to 300 leagues in fairly bad weather and when they have arrived the only anchor they have is a stone between four sticks. Their only cable is made of mahot fiber.

The coulialas, which we call canoes, never exceed twenty feet in length and three to four feet in width. They are pointed at both ends making it difficult to distinguish bow from stern. They seldom build up the sides with planking. They paddle these in the same way as they paddle pirogues.

There are many kinds of canoes. Some are so small that they can only carry one man and are used only for fishing. They sometimes use rafts such as were described in the first part of this book. They 502 have no compasses, magnets, or sundials, and therefore do not go too far from land. When they lose sight of land they steer at night by the stars, and by day by the course of the sun.

The one who assumes the responsibility for a trip is called a captain, and he commands the pirogue. He gives orders for everything necessary for the embarkation, although he is not more highly considered by the others because of his role.

484 When they land someplace other than their own settlement, they build small roofs or porches which they call ajoupa. They cover them with latan or wild plantain leaves and hang their beds beneath them.

10. Warfare and Weapons

● 701 The Caribs have three kinds of captains who command them. The first are masters of canoes or pirogues. The second have settlements of their own. The third kind of captain is elected by common consent, either because he has shown great courage in war or because he has killed many of their enemies. They never elect young men, even if they are sons of captains, for they fear that young men have had too little experience and are too impetuous, which would endanger

●701 everyone. They choose old men. These men are as much esteemed for the maturity of their counsel as they are for their extended knowledge of warfare. The old men resign when they realize that they are no longer capable of supporting the burden of their tasks and find it troublesome to undertake the long voyages which are part of their duties. By this resignation they acquire as much honor through frankly [559] confessing their weakness as they would gain through a victory. In order that the respect due them will not be lessened by having too many captains, there is sometimes only one on an island. In Dominica there are two of these captains, who are separated by a great distance for fear that their authority would clash and that their jealousy would degrade them. Their power is limited because they only command in military affairs.

In referring to these captains, Mr. de Rochefort calls them quite improperly generals and admirals, and sometimes even caciques. Neither the Caribs nor most of the French have heard of this latter name.

721 The Caribs have long waged war against certain nations of Europe which I have sufficiently described in the first part of this book. In addition they wage war against the savages in South America, particularly against the Allouagues. The Carib war captains have experience in everything concerning military affairs and have in addition given ample proof of their bravery and courage. They arouse the men to take up arms and set out on a campaign whenever it pleases them. Everyone obeys them in affairs which concern war, but outside of this they are given no consideration.

When one of their captains intends to go to war he holds a drinking party or a general assembly at his settlement. Here the guests enjoy themselves thoroughly with much dancing, in their fashion, and drinking until they almost burst. The old women, drunk as they are, begin to recall the purpose of the assembly, and start out by recounting outrages and wrongs presumably done to them by the enemy. One mourns the loss of her dead husband, another says they ate her father, a mother complains about her son, and a sister about her brother. In brief they give a recital of disordered complaints so extreme that they move the whole assembly to tears, each exciting the other to take vengeance upon their enemies. Then the captain who

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fifty years ago—two and a half centuries after Breton's stay in the island—Rat found both terms still in use: "A modern Carib is called by his countrymen, *Karifuna*. In referring to the whole race of Caribs, the word *Karinaku* is used," he says; and rather naively comments: "Raymond Breton does not mention Karifuna"! 101

There appear to be four names, with their variations, applied to the Caribs—the first by themselves, the other three being examples of how they were "called names" by their neighbors and enemies:

1. Callinago, calinago, kalina, karinaku, karina (see kinship term 5) *harmless* > stem kari- *hurt, harm*, and suffix, -na *(free)from* (cf. Breton's "callinémeti *homme paisible, homme de bien*").

2. Calliponam, caripuna, karipúna, caripoune, carifoona, karífuna, kiripúna (see kinship term 6) *people disposed to hurt* (cf. Breton's karibóteti *sensitive, touchy* > Rat's kaifóteti *fearsome*).

3 Galibi, canibi, caribe, carive, caribbe, charibbee, carib, charib, cariva, caribisee, callibisi, caribisi, carabish. These names, although usually taken to be European corruptions of 2, may well derive from the stem kari- (see above) and, as suffix -ibe *tribe, kin* (see term 8, and cf. kibeti *many*) and connote *harmful* or *hurtful* nation.

4. Similarly [kawáibe?] > kawahíb, k'wíb (the present local Creole term) > Kwíbo (place name) and French canaibe; probably meant *quarrelsome people, tribe*, or nation (cf. kawáiti *quarrelsome*).

Breton tells us that there were two main chiefs, one for the leeward, another for the windward side of Dominica, with minor chiefs or headmen in charge of the several settlements or carbets (< tábuy *longhouse*). Breton says he was laughed at when he greeted one of these with the word for chief; and from other sources it does not appear that they exercised any great authority. In wartime, a special commander was appointed to lead the combined forces of several islands; and each boat had its own captain. The forces of Dominica were said to take the lead in such campaigns. War-time leaders could exact obedience, but had to relinquish their positions at the termination of an expedition. We are told that chiefs and their sons did not follow the usual custom of matrilocal residence after marriage, but brought their wives to their own homes. The tradition of one-time royalty probably refers to an hereditary chieftainship; but it is evident that at the time of which the chroniclers wrote chiefs were elected and might even be deposed. Candidates for chieftainship were selected on the 622 [624] [701] 624 622 [541]

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622 basis of their supposed wisdom and powers of endurance, and had to submit to such tests as fasting, drinking tobacco juice (a powerful emetic), stinging by wasps or ants, and scarification with agouti-tooth lancets.

Today the tribe as a whole elects a chief for his real or self-advertised ability to safeguard its interests and improve its lot. Unless deposed for gross injustice, he holds office for life; but no particular privileges attach to the position. Having no means of enforcing sanctions, his rule is limited to that of a paternal arbiter.[2]

[701] [593] [562 567] 684 [578] All records insist on the democratic character of Island Carib society. Only those who so desired joined a war party. A father would not dream of telling a sixteen year old son to come fishing, but merely announce his own intention of going. "Orders are given to none but women and slaves," says Labat; and adds that as far as he saw, both these classes were treated gently, and that many Caribs had real affection for their wives. The statement that they were also very jealous, and might kill a woman suspected of infidelity without proof or further ado rather loses significance when we learn that, in their cups, Caribs frequently cracked the heads of men whom they considered to have injured them, and that in such cases, only the family of the victim, if they held the deed as unjustifiable, would take up the vendetta. Moreover, should a deceived husband not kill his wife immediately after discovering her guilt, not only must he not hark back to the subject later, but he was supposed to tolerate subsequent lapses provided they be with the same man (see term 20)! This latter, however, if challenged by the aggrieved husband, must bow his head and submit to being slashed with a knife, but was at liberty to return the challenge under the same conditions later. [655] Children were disciplined little, and then, more out of sporadic ill-humor than in their own interest.

513 Although it has faded somewhat in the course of the last three hundred years, the above picture is still recognizable in its outline. The father has final authority in the household, although he usually leaves the management of children

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648 622 623 [666] 2 As a consequence of the so-called "Carib War" of September 1930 (see Douglas Taylor, *The Caribs of Dominica*, Anthropological Papers, no. 3, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 119, pp. 103-159, 1938), the late chief Jolly John was "cashiered" by the local British authorities. A plebiscite by show of hands, held in the presence of the magistrate, resulted in his re-election by the Caribs, who continued to regard him as Chief until his death in 1942. Nevertheless, at the instigation of the local authorities, a council of five was appointed to replace the "office of chief," which was discontinued. Divided amongst themselves, its members have attempted little and accomplished less. The number of disputes settled by them without recourse to the magistrate is but a fraction of those successfully arbitrated formerly by the chief. Thus far, their only united effort has been directed toward urging the local authorities (who give them each a yearly "Christmas box" of $5) to raise their "pay"!